

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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CHattel SLAVE AND FREE WOMAN

MENACE OF SUFFRAGE IN SOUTH

A LESSON FROM HISTORY

SUFFRAGISTS CRIPPLE WELFARE
WORK

FEMINIST FOR MUNICIPAL
OWNERSHIP OF CHILDREN

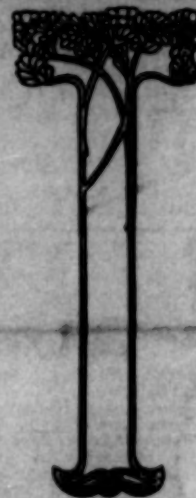
SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALASIA

FEMINISM AND AGNOSTICISM

"CAJOLERY AND COERCION"

"VOTES FOR CHILDREN!"

JULY
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THE "CHATTEL SLAVE" AND THE "FREE WOMAN"

BY JULIA T. WATERMAN

WINWOOD READE, in the "Martyrdom of Man," says: "At first the female was a chattel common to all, or belonging exclusively to one, who was by brute force the despot of the herd. When property was divided and secured by law the women became the slaves of their husbands, hewing the wood, drawing the water, working in the fields, while the men sewed and washed the clothes, looked after the house and idled at the toilet, oiling their hair and adorning it with flowers, arranging the chignon or the wig of vegetable fibre, filling their teeth, boring their ears, putting studs into their cheeks, staining their gums, tatooing fanciful designs upon their shins, tying strings on their arms to give them a rounded form, bathing their bodies in warm water, rubbing them with lime-juice and oil, perfuming them with the powdered bark of an aromatic tree. Decoration among the females was not allowed. It was then considered unwomanly to engage in any but masculine occupations. Wives were selected only for their strength. They were hard, coarse, ill-favored creatures as inferior to the men in beauty as the females are to the males throughout the animal kingdom. But when prisoners of war were tamed and broken in the women ceased to be the drudges and became the ornaments of life. Poor men select their domestic animals for their utility; rich men select them for appearance. In the same manner when men became rich they chose wives according to their looks. * * *

"By the continued selection of long-haired wives the flowing tresses of the sex have been produced. In the same manner the elegance of the female form, its softness of complexion, its gracefulness of curve are not less our creation than the symmetry and speed of the race-horse, the magnificence of garden flowers and the flavor of orchard fruits. Even the reserved demeanor of women, their refined sentiments, their native modesty and power of self-control are partly due to us. The wife was at first a domestic animal like the dog or the horse. She could not be used without the consent of the proprietor, but he was always willing to let her out for hire. * * * However, as the intelligence expands and the sentiments become more refined, marriage is hallowed by religion; adultery is regarded as a shame to the husband and a sin against the gods; and a new feeling—jealousy—enters for the first time the heart of man. The husband desires to monopolize his wife, body and soul. He intercepts her glances; he attempts to penetrate into her thoughts. He covers her with clothes. He hides even her face from the public gaze. His jealousy for the future is extended over the past. Thus women from the earliest childhood are subjected to severe but salutary laws. Chastity becomes the rule of female life. At first it is preserved by force alone. Male slaves are appointed to guard the women, who, except sometimes from momentary pique, never betray one another and are allied against the men. But as the minds of men are gradually elevated and refined through the culture of the intellect there rises within them a sentiment which is unknown in savage life. They conceive a contempt for those pleasures which they share with the lowest of mankind, and even with the brutes. They feel that this instinct is degrading; and they strive to resist it; they endeavor to be pure. But that instinct is strong with the accumulated power of innumerable generations, and the noble desire is weak and newly born; it can seldom be sustained except by the fears and hopes of religion or by the nobler teachings of philosophy. But in women this new virtue is assisted by laws and customs which were established long before, by the selfishness of men. Here, then, the abhorrence of the impure, the sense of duty, the fear of punishment, all unite and form a moral law which women themselves enforce, becoming the guardians of their own honor and treating as a traitor to her sex the woman who betrays her

trust. For her the most compassionate have no mercy; she has broken those laws of honor on which society is founded. It is forbidden to receive her; it is an insult to women to allude to her existence, to pronounce her name. She is condemned without inquiry, as the officer is condemned who has shown cowardice before the foe. For the life of women is a battle-field; virtue is their courage and peace of mind is their reward. It is certainly an extraordinary fact that women should be subjected to a severe social discipline, from which men are almost entirely exempt. As we have shown, it is explained by history; it is due to the ancient subjection of the women to the man. But it is not the women that are to be pitied; it is they alone who are free; for by that discipline they are preserved from the tyranny of vice. It would be well for men if they also were ruled by a severe opinion."

The book from which the above quotation is taken was published twenty years ago, before the feminist question had assumed serious proportions. It conclusively proves, however, the retrogressive nature of the feminist doctrine, which would make of modern woman the "hard, coarse, ill-favored creatures" they were in primitive times or which justifies and defends in them the weaknesses and moral lapses which through the centuries have enslaved men. The fact that woman, through her superior self-control and by the charm and grace of her personality, has acquired the only real freedom and occupies now in all civilized nations the more advantageous position, does not seem to have struck the feminists who insist vociferously that they desire to return to the ancient status when men possessed the graces and women the hardship, when women were no more virtuous than men and when, as a noted feminist exclaims, they possessed "all labor" as "their portion." In savage days men selected their wives for strength alone and their power to work for them. If feminism triumphs in the twentieth century it will mean once more chattel slavery for women. The tolerance of easy moral standards for woman, the advent of the police-woman and the prevalence of female industrialism are all signs of the gradual degradation of woman to her old servile state. That a large number of women are advocating this retrogression and calling it progress seems to prove that many of our sex have never really evolved that mental and moral freedom with which our author credits them. Virtue was forced upon them as they are fond of declaiming by masculine brute force. It never became an inherent part of them, for they protest and repudiate it with every breath they draw as an injustice.

There can be but one result from the changes advocated by feminists. When woman secures all labor for her portion (from which ages of civilization have lifted her) she will restore to man the superior position from which sentiment alone deposed him. With her freedom to toil and to return to sexual liberty will come the loss of her kingdom, which depends not on her intellectual or muscular strength (in both of which man is her superior), but on the maintenance of those exclusive qualities which man demands in her and which give her value in his eyes. If she abandons her position of moral and æsthetic advantage we may see develop only two types, neither of them new. One is the chattel slave of primitive savagery; the other the "free woman" of effete and decadent nations. Both these types are with us to-day. When the feminists have succeeded in striking the word "male" out of the Constitution we may expect to see them increase, for with the emasculation of man comes inevitably the demoralization of women and the decadence of the State. We shall then have reached a state of society such as Winwood Reade describes as existing in the tribal days—a state of society which realizes the feminist ideal precisely. Will this be progress or retrogression? And will it be advantageous to women?

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

THE FEDERATED CLUBS' MISFORTUNE

TO the great misfortune of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, a resolution was forced through the convention in Chicago by the Suffragists last month. It read:

Whereas, the question of political equality of men and women is to-day a vital problem under discussion throughout the civilized world, be it

Resolved, That the General Federation of Women's Clubs give the cause of political equality for men and women its moral support by recording its earnest belief in the principle of political equality regardless of sex.

Protesting against this action and warning of its consequences, the following statements and telegrams were made public:

PHILADELPHIA, June 11, 1914.

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYPACKER, President
National Federation of Women's Clubs, Chicago, Ill.

The Federation of Clubs was organized to unite in common work women of different political and religious beliefs. Should political clubs be admitted to membership and the federation declare for or against woman suffrage, it would mean a break in the federation, forming of another on old lines through withdrawal of those Suffragists and the Anti-Suffragists who strongly disapprove of departing from the original foundation. Civic clubs in Pennsylvania have declared against taking sides on the suffrage question, which would mean withdrawal of members and support. This is true of many other clubs belonging to State and National Federations. As I am greatly interested in the club work, I hope the suffrage question will not come before the federation.

(Signed) MRS. HORACE BROCK, Honorary President
State Federation of Pennsylvania Women.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, also sent a telegram of protest before the vote was taken, as follows:

"We hereby express our hope that no action on the question of woman suffrage will be taken by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. The magnificent work done by the women's clubs all over the country is of far more importance than the entrance of women into politics. The harmony that has so far existed and our solidarity as women working together for the common good would be jeopardized, as many thousand women would be antagonized by such action."

(Signed) MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE, President,
Representing twenty-one State Associations.

The following statement was issued by the Board of Directors of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, after a meeting held Thursday, June 25th:

If the patriots and politicians who have been indifferent to the demands of women for equal suffrage can spare a few minutes for serious contemplation of the action of Suffragists at the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Chicago, they will perhaps read the hand-writing on the wall and be aroused from their lethargy to a realization of some of the dangers the future holds for them politically; for the action endorsing woman suffrage was a clear case of gag rule in a packed convention, worthy of the much-despised political machines.

The more conservative Suffragists in the different State Federations of Clubs have opposed endorsement of suffrage by either the State or the General Federation of Clubs, not only because they feared the disruption of the harmony that has always existed in club work, but because that work in general has been humanitarian and never the dissemination of a propaganda.

Of the State Federations, seventeen have endorsed woman suffrage and several have voted not to endorse it, while by far the greater number have refused to allow the subject to be discussed at their conventions. In many of the State Federations the Suffragists have been maneuvering for years to secure suffrage delegates to the biennial convention of the General Federation. Many Suffragists hoped until the last moment that the question would not be brought up in Chicago, and many have since said openly that they regretted that the resolution was brought before the convention.

The President, Mrs. Pennypacker, had taken a neutral position. The Illinois Suffragists openly threatened that unless she permitted the suffrage resolution to be introduced, a rival candidate would be brought forward. The President appointed a committee of three suffrage members of the Board to confer with two prominent Suffragists in Chicago and probably in consequence of this conference it was announced from the platform on Friday that the suffrage resolution would be brought forward the next morning. When it was brought up Saturday morning, there were two speeches in favor of suffrage made by Mrs. Leach of Kentucky and Miss Stearns of Wisconsin. While many women were on their feet trying to obtain recognition from the chair, the one woman recognized by the President was Mary Garrett Hay of New York who moved the previous question, which was carried. On the main question a rising vote was called for, but ignored by the President.

A protest to the resolution was presented on the following Tuesday, which was accepted and placed on file. The following is the protest as printed:

"The Minority Members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs wish to present and place on record a protest against what is called the *unanimous* action of one million women in an endorsement of equal suffrage.

"When such leaders as Sarah Platt Decker, a pronounced Suffragist individually, stated publicly and privately that such endorsement by the Federation would militate against the educational value of the Federation, in different sections of the country when well-known and unknown women throughout the United States as directly interested in this convention as any delegate present have also opposed such endorsement, a great injustice is done by the wide-spread assertion that a million women composing this body favor political equality."

Afterward, on motion of Miss Stearns of Wisconsin, the allusion to Mrs. Decker was stricken out.

The Suffragists are already quoting widely that one million club women have endorsed woman suffrage which is absolutely untrue, as there are hundreds of clubs throughout the country that refuse to endorse it, and there are hundreds and thousands of women belonging to clubs that have endorsed it, who are actively opposed to woman suffrage. A very large majority of the club women of the South are opposed and there is wide-spread disapproval of this endorsement being expressed both in public and in private. To quote from a letter of Mrs. Denies T. S. Denison, former President and Honorary President of the General Federation: "Any woman who says that a million women by this resolution endorse woman suffrage is a qualified member of the Ananias Club."

The introduction of politics into the philanthropic, educational and civic work done by the club women has not only hampered their work, but will undoubtedly cause the withdrawal of many clubs. It is a striking illustration of welfare work being injured and retarded by party politics.

UNITED AS CLUB WOMEN, DIVIDED AS POLITICIANS

WILL woman's club work lose or woman suffrage gain by the action of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in endorsing woman suffrage? This principle endorsed by the Federation will divide women's clubs and the division will be bitter.

Did the delegates neglect to take testimony from the club women of California who, after a scant three years of trial of partisan politics infused into club activities, passed the following resolution at the May (1914) Convention of the California Federation of Women's Clubs:

"Resolved, That we protest against using the influence and agencies of State and District Federation to further partisan and political interests, and that we work for the moral and educational movements on which women stand practically united."

Are the disruptions of political strife showing club women of California the value of their former freedom from political entanglements in furthering moral and educational movements?

THE MENACE OF SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH

THE following is a paper presented by Mrs. Walter D. Lamar before the opening meeting of the Georgia Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage, in Macon:

Three men entered a restaurant for breakfast. One said to the negro waiter, "I want ham and fried eggs." The second, "Bring me bacon and scrambled eggs." The third said, "I want lamb chops and the eggs eliminated." The waiter disappeared to return in a few minutes with the report, "Can't give 'em to yo, Boss, 'cause de 'liminator done broke."

Mrs. Medill McCormick, Miss Jane Addams, Anna Shaw and other heritors of Susan B. Anthony's slogan, "Suffrage regardless of sex or color," have sat at the suffrage table and have called since 1869 that they would break their fast by enactment of a federal law forcing equal suffrage on all States. Perceiving the unpopularity of this order in the political kitchen, a second set of suffrage advocates ask for national suffrage, through the Shafroth resolution (of which more anon) as a subtle forerunner of federal supervision. The third guest at this suffrage table is now heard: "I want suffrage with the negro vote eliminated." Back from the powers that be comes the message, "Your federal law advocate has broken the eliminator." In other words, State sovereignty alone can guarantee State control of elections and the elimination of undesirables. This fable, however, does not in any way refer to the majority of the women of our section.

Woman has been entrenched for many years upon a platform of superiority. Her vision has been kept clear and keen, her hands unfettered of fear, unhampered of favor, her heart throbbing for her own and the great human family; she has through her very independence of politics accomplished great things for her people.

Figures in States where equal suffrage obtains show that votes of women have not helped in the great civic and moral problems of the day; that there has been a notable loss to the prohibition forces, lamentable indifference to the use of the vote and the venial side of women, hitherto undiscovered, has appeared.

WOMAN'S CLUBS MORE POTENT THAN BALLOT

More than a million women are represented at the biennial of the National Federation of Women's clubs now in session at Chicago. They have concerned themselves with civics, economics and all questions contributing to public welfare. For instance, during the month of April, 1913, the "starve the fly" campaign went forward in every State by common consent.

In May, 1913, the city and town "clean-up" campaign was as much in the order of events all over the country as the spring house cleaning of the individual home. City officials, the clergy, school children and all sorts of philanthropic associations were enlisted because it was a necessary measure for the health of the community.

In the winter months nearly every State federation was busy with legislation desired for women and children; minimum wage boards, widows' pensions and eight-hour laws for women workers might be mentioned as the most important measures. It is said that club women get any legislation that they really want.

Now that summer approaches, the use of public playgrounds is promoted, children's parks are supervised, public parks are looked after, the police woman is in request.

All the year an agitation for pure food is carried on.

"Unity in Diversity" surely expresses the club woman movement. There is the greatest diversity of method and yet a certain unity of purpose is easily discernible.

Somehow these women have come to fill a good many civic functions, which really belong to city or State officials, but they

manage the difficult problem of co-operation with considerable tact. The official may look askance at first, but he soon comes to bless those who work with him for public welfare, without salary, and with no desire for the spoils of office.

Women in the club movement are most friendly to all other organizations of women. They co-operate and join with them, not at all fearful lest their thunder should be stolen. In fact, they realize there is so much to be done that there is room for everybody; nay, more—that the vineyard continually calls for more laborers.

At the forthcoming biennial there will be a general review of the work accomplished in the various departments. It must not be forgotten that there are national departments of civics and health, conservation, education, fine arts, home economics, industrial and social conditions, legislation and civil service reform, literature and reciprocity and press. All of these have their national scope of work with many variations, according to State and locality.

The biennial is chiefly valuable because of the opportunity for an exchange of ideas between women who come from every section of the country. Next to that, is the advantage of hearing the work of other associations of women set forth by able representatives. Then, too, experts on education, civics and all other important public topics, are glad to appear before this gathering of intelligent and earnest women, seeking their co-operation and full understanding.

On equal suffrage the General Federation is silent, holding that women can best work out that problem in separate organizations. It welcomes the Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists equally. It encourages political study and urges the appointment of women on prison boards and also State boards. (The Bulletin.)

THE BALLOT NO CURE-ALL

That proposed infringement of State sovereignty has acquired no new argument by consideration of what has been accomplished for the public weal in States having suffrage may be illustrated by a few facts.

We are told by suffrage advocates that all good things desired by all good people shall come out of equal suffrage. In Oregon and California the eight-hour law for women workers was passed before women were given the vote, thus illustrating with renewed clearness the "power of indirect influence." Ten States have prohibition and nine have full suffrage, one partial suffrage. Of this number Kansas alone is both prohibition and suffrage, its prohibition laws antedating its suffrage. Prohibition organizations endorse suffrage in many instances, yet they have not been able to secure prohibition in a suffrage State, and the Michigan Equal Suffrage Association issued the following disclaimer: "Our association has no connection with the W. C. T. U. The temperance issue has nothing to do with woman suffrage."

The nation-wide movements for safeguarding of women and children, the removal of inequalities in wage, besides special favors of women workers, the betterment of labor conditions, have as strong average activities in the male suffrage States as in the equal suffrage States.

Neither Colorado nor any other suffrage State prohibits night labor for women, yet there are sixteen male suffrage States where such labor is prohibited or restricted. New York and Texas, Ohio, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Wisconsin and other male suffrage States have enacted excellent laws against the evils that advocates of suffrage claim votes for women will promptly remedy—record of equal suffrage States to the contrary.

Dr. Anna Shaw, President National Suffrage Association, sweepingly characterizes those who oppose suffrage, as "protectors of liquor interests, food-dopers, child-labor exploiters,

white slavers and political bosses." Alas, that evil exists, but joy be that there are women so intent on the business of being a woman that through them many of those ills are lessened and much of the wickedness of the race is prevented of its foul ends. Through personal service without wage, by moral influence and intelligent advice, women as such are doing what "votes for women" have neither prevented nor ameliorated. The character and life work of leading Anti-Suffragists refute the gentle charge of Dr. Shaw that Anti-Suffragists are "vultures looking for carrion" and that furthermore, with an amusing mixing of metaphors, "they serve by holding out their skirts as screen for the liquor traffic, the gambler, the vicious and those interested in dance halls, etc.

Should the amendment to the constitution of the State providing for regulating the franchise in Georgia and asking that a "votes for women" amendment be passed by the legislature, such action would be futile in the face of the proposed amendment to the federal constitution now before Congress.

State's rights is no new nor restricted creed. It was claimed for Massachusetts in 1811; it was the ground upon which the Hartford convention in 1814 withdrew New England from the union, it was again claimed by Massachusetts in 1844, and it is the basis upon which State associations opposed to equal suffrage are already fighting federal supervision of elections in sixteen States. State sovereignty had been recognized as one of the salient features of the now much battered constitution of our fathers, and was taught in the Military Academy at West Point from a book entitled, "Rawles' View of the Constitution," in use from 1825 to 1840. Leading men of north and south who were West Pointers were both taught from his textbook, yet those of the north yielded to the potent influence of William Lloyd Garrison, who answered the claim that "the constitution guaranteed to the States all rights not expressly delegated thereby to the federal government," by burning a copy of the constitution and crying aloud: "Down with the constitution, it is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Such the spirit, such the creed now animating the advocates of the Bristow-Mondell-Shafroth propositions. State sovereignty has come booming across the Rockies from the Pacific slope. It has been invoked in Illinois and Colorado not long since. Protection from federal aggression as well as need of aid from the national government are alike claimed as a State right.

In the south 2,000,000 colored women would be added to the voting power of the section, besides the enforcement of the fifteenth amendment. Is there any doubt as to the party with which the majority of these will affiliate?

In Georgia two-thirds of the labor employed in our industrial institutions is composed of women and children. Many of these would have the same qualifications displayed by those from the National Pencil Factory, who testified in the Mary Phagan murder case, first one way and then another, according to the size and source of the bribe. Does Georgia need that quality of voters added to her list? Because some men have not measured up to the status of true citizenship, should we add more voters of that type to gratify the claims of equal suffrage?

In a statement touching the inadvisability of amending the constitution because of ratification of such amendment by thirty-six States, before the Congressional Judiciary Committee, Miss Bronson testified in behalf of opposition to equal suffrage as follows:

"Wyoming, with its 145,000 inhabitants, would counterbalance New York with its 10,000,000. Idaho would counterbalance Massachusetts. New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania where this question of woman suffrage would double the electorate, the cost of which is of great concern to those commonwealths, would be counterbalanced by Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, whose combined population is about equal to that of Connecticut, with an area considerably less than a single county in any of the four. Nine States, including the eastern industrial State I have mentioned and the three States

of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin, where within the past eighteen months woman suffrage has been defeated with majorities approaching 100,000, each contain a greater population than any thirty-six States of the union, if we exclude the States which have disfranchised an electorate which was forced upon them by an act identical with that proposed in this bill. Our great President, although a friend of that enfranchised race, was opposed to that amendment, for he more than any of his associates foresaw the result. His friendship for the colored man was not doubted, yet he opposed this fifteenth amendment because he foresaw the result."

The friction between the two races of the South was brought about by that amendment to the constitution which gave the right of suffrage to all males of prescribed age, regardless of color, race or previous condition of servitude. The effort to enforce this amendment in the South brought on those bitter days of reconstruction and aided in the virtual nullifying of that amendment, where white voters of States so directed.

The Lodge Force bill of some years ago advocated federal supervision of our voting precincts; this, too, State sovereignty prevented. The Bristow-Mondell amendment, pushed by women who would force equal suffrage at cost of State rights, would enlarge the power of Congress in controlling and regulating elections, regardless of States, thus vitalizing the fifteenth amendment, an inevitable result according to Georgia's representatives at Washington.

Alarmed at the possibilities, Southern Suffragists have undertaken to organize for the purpose of holding the matter within State jurisdiction. To appease them the advocates of federal control have secured the services of a "Progressive Democrat" from Colorado, Shafroth by name, who has cleverly worked his villainous intent to secure federal control of States by proposing that when 8 per cent. of the voters of a State shall petition for an election, such a petition shall be granted according to a Congressional ruling, this effort at securing such action on the part of the 8 per cent. to be continued indefinitely until suffrage for women is secured; providing also that when thirty-six States shall ask thus, others shall have no redress—State constitutions to be ignored, thus foisting upon the South the illiterate vote of a race with whom we cannot live on terms of political and social equality. By the adoption of this amendment, a State would surrender all her rights of self-protection. The party in power would control the polls. The Southern man's appreciation of the necessity of white supremacy for the good of blacks and whites alike will reassert itself—and then will come the reign of might.

A short while before the death of a great Southerner—a man who had served his section as a brave Confederate soldier, who for twenty years served a reunited nation in the halls of Congress, a man whose poise and bravery were many times called on to settle difficulties in the dark days of reconstruction, he was asked if "The Leopard's Spots" gave a true picture of those days. "Yes," said he, "absolutely, without exaggeration." The same provocation will produce like results. Then of a truth will a Frankenstein be born of these machinations that shall terrify its creator, shall crush alike the good and bad, shall endanger anew the foundations of peace, and with unwavering finger it shall cry, "Woman, thou thyself hast brought me forth!"

I take it that woman's capabilities and intelligence are not, by this issue, called in question; that the inspiration and activities of Joan of Arc are not doubted; that the abilities of Catherine of Russia, of Isabella of Spain, of Elizabeth and Victoria of England redound to the glory of the race because of their individual broadness as human agents, not because they were women. To push woman into further activities than those hitherto essential to the good of the State would involve her in the intricacies of feminism and militancy.

We are citizens of the republic, no efforts are being made to dislodge us from our supremacy, and it is our duty as such to continue our influence upon politics, upon the lives that touch

ours, to make for magnanimity and purity by a determination on the part of each of us to count for something definite in the moulding of public opinion. It is our duty to study the Socialistic problems of our country, resulting from graft and greed of the already rich, and having learned to impress our views upon those about us, thus aiding the advent of industrial peace. At present every Socialist is a Suffragist. The Socialist Party is not local or national, but world-wide in its scope, therefore we would know its creed, we would seek friends therein to our view-point. The failure of suffrage to alleviate other ills may show that the woman *per se* shall help solve socialism problems far sooner than woman in man's sphere.

It is the avowed intention of Republicans and Progressives to break the solid South. Through their suffrage allies they have sent to the women of the South bon-bons of sophistries and bouquets of sweet-sounding circulars. O woman of the South, look well into all these propositions and whence they come! Know the chess board of politics, guard unto our people their queen, State sovereignty! To women who would follow the gleam of equal suffrage, I say, pause! ponder! If you have hitherto rocked along happy and secure, awake to the dangers that confront us. From the perturbed West come raiders in fashionable Parisian garments crying to our women of the South, "Arise, put down that tatterdemalion of State's rights, and mount the heights of full citizenship." To such people we shall say, "Avaunt! Upon the rock of State supremacy rests for our section the only safeguard against an evil which the foul fiend of carpetbagging sought to fasten upon us. Reconstruction failed of that end, Lodge's Force bill sought to accomplish the same degradation of the proud South, this Bristow-Mondell amendment, advocated by Suffragists of the country and now sugar-coated with the Shafroth amendment, cannot deceive us. Our intelligence is equal to yours, our patriotism derived from the same revolutionary ancestors, our claim that the constitution be upheld is stronger than anything you can substitute." Let not the woman of property and the

business woman heed the new version of "forty acres and a mule." Taxes are regulated by constitutional rulings. Wages are only affected by action of labor unions in conjunction with capital. By securing the ballot wage-earning women will not equalize their wages with men's. By securing the right to vote the woman of property does not direct the affairs of the town or State.

That many wise sayings are distorted to foolish ends can be no better illustrated than in the fatuous use of the phrase, "No taxation without representation," as argument that all those who pay taxes should have the ballot. Neither legal knowledge nor historical research is needed to prove that this refers to commonwealths and not to the individual citizen. Even if taxes were the price of the ballot, property owners are not restricted to desirable voters.

The increase of expenses of elections would further delay and perhaps lessen the pay of our school teachers. Poll tax, street tax and jury exemption are not gifts to the voter. The fast-loomed possibilities of government ownership of public utilities would give the party in power the right to install in dominant positions persons suited to its way of thinking regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

"WOMAN INVISIBLE" STRONGER THAN "WOMAN MILITANT"

No one is so archaic as to believe that the act of voting will injure woman's refinement or morality under any circumstances; that is a matter of individuality. A great author, on the subject of woman's aid in the war between the States, has said: "By the side of every soldier there marched invisible a woman soldier, too." Was not her power for good the greater because she was invisible? Would not her physical presence have hampered the march? And so also in the great march of progress, the duties, powers and joys of the "woman invisible" shall continue to elevate the standards, to train the youth, to bless the good and to maintain her unquestioned supremacy!

TAKING A LESSON FROM HISTORY

By JAMES CALLAWAY
(From Macon, Ga., Telegraph)

A PROMINENT Georgia woman wrote not long since asking, "What objection to giving the ballot to women?"

The reply was: "The ballot means politics. As our pulpit should be uncontaminated by politics, so our women should be. 'Votes for women' will affect not so much our political as our social life; it will revolutionize the home life. Our homes are the basis of our State and national prosperity. Ballots for women will strike at the unity of the home. Unity of interest is alone found between man and wife. There is antagonism in every other relation of life. It is social revolution when the man and wife are no longer one, but two. When two, antagonism destroys that unity intended when God made the twain as one. They are one, yet two; they are one in mind, while two in the body. When two in mind and two in body the Scriptural idea of marriage is lost. The family should be a well-organized social unit, constituted on the principle of autocracy. The woman ballot destroys this, and the relation becomes a co-equal copartnership. In other words, the marriage relation as established by the Bible degenerates into a mere civil contract, with its changing fortunes.

"Nowhere in the world are women treated with such honor as in the South. It is as if they were superior beings; reverence for them is a distinguishing characteristic of Southern men.

Hence they are placed on a pedestal above such ignoble contaminations as now attach to practical politics. Southern ideals and Southern civilization involve the lofty eminence upon which we place our women. We would save them from the mire of politics. The ballot means politics. Practical politics will commonize our women. Now they are sacred in our eyes. The aroma of the violet is not more pervading than her influence. Will it be so when women enter into politics? The Scriptural view of marriage is discarded and marriage merely a civil contract when the ballot is conferred. Is history to repeat itself?"

The *Telegraph* editorially, not long since, showed that women sought the ballot in Rome, and with what result? They sought emancipation from the laws of God and nature, and the result was not only a political but a social revolution. The home life was affected. The Roman women demanded not a home constituted on the principle of autocracy, or the social unit, but on the principle of co-equal partnership—the same as American Suffragettes now demand. Man and wife were no longer one, but two. Marriage became merely a civil contract, its continuance depending on mutual consent. The bond was dissolved at will. Marriage became a joke. Even Cicero repudiated his wife. Mæcenas, the friend of Horace, continually changed his wife. Even Cato sold his wife to his friend Hortensius. The ballot

made women brazen. They lost their femininity. They lost their modesty and refinement. Can the dress of to-day with the diaphanous skirt be a forerunner of the ballot for women? It was so in pagan Rome.

The marriage relation became so uncertain, so "intolerably disagreeable" that men shunned it. Wives quit husbands and husbands quit wives on any flimsy pretext. Some prominent women, leading Suffragettes, took unto themselves twenty-five husbands in the course of five years. So that men refused to marry.

Augustus Caesar offered handsome bribes to induce men to marry. But laws could not save the empire. She who had rocked the cradle and gave Rome strong men became a politician. Men were wanting and Rome fell for lack of men. The women had ceased to furnish, educate and train men for the defense of the empire. When the woman undertook to do man's work and neglected her sphere affairs were thrown into confusion.

The Southern man shudders when he contemplates how these "strong-minded" women of the North and West—the Jane Addams crowd—are leading our Southern women to organize suffrage associations and plunge into the arena of politics. He is aware how it will commonize them and degenerate them, reduce marriage, in course of time, to a mere civil contract be-

tween two co-equal partners, and strip it of the sacredness under its Scriptural bonds of wedlock. As has been said, "The family as organized by Christ is a social unit, a harmonious whole, with one head. The man and wife are one, not two."

The Chicago Suffragettes tell us if the Bible conflicts with the suffrage movement then the Bible must go. Perhaps they see in the perspective the conditions that "woman's rights" brought to Rome, and they desire that history repeat itself. If Northern and Western women want to become as men let us hope our Southern women will refuse to follow their example. The Suffragists of to-day are weary of the conventionalities of society and they seek that militancy which overthrows the Bible philosophy of woman's sphere. These pagan organizations, defying marriage as ordained by Christ, are as much an attack on the home as a social unit as the movement, originating in Nebraska and fostered in Oregon, to supplant the representative system with the old effete direct system of government, is an attack on the Constitution of our country.

But as the wisdom and virtue of our womanhood will come to the rescue of religion and society, so the patriotic, thinking people of this country will come to the rescue of the Constitution and maintain and protect that system of government established by the fathers of the Republic.

SUFFRAGIST ATTEMPT TO CRIPPLE WELFARE WORK

By MRS. JOSEPH M. STODDARD,

Member of the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THIRTY thousand women are reported by the press as being in Chicago this week attending the convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs. One thousand seven hundred and sixteen are entitled as delegates to a vote upon the various measures which will be brought to its attention. This wonderful representation of a splendid world-wide enterprise for the good of humanity is being seriously hampered and perplexed by the discussion of political suffrage of women within its ranks. It is a striking illustration of welfare work being injured and retarded by party politics.

No doubt the Suffragists are trying to enforce the following pledge of "will and wont" of the Women's Political Union: "I hereby promise: First, I will give what I can and do my share of the work to gain votes for women; second, I will not give either money or services to any other cause until the women of New York State are enfranchised." Or perhaps this one of the National Woman Suffrage Association: "Until women are enfranchised efforts to ameliorate social conditions can be at best but crippled, therefore I have decided to give such time and money as I can spare to those causes only that will bring about the political freedom of women."

How can the Suffragists from any State where women have not yet been enfranchised and who are members of either of these two institutions, in justice to themselves as consistent, fair-minded women, attend a confederation of women's clubs whose main reason for being is social uplift and welfare work? The whole idea of these pledges is to cripple philanthropy and not to extend it, but the great game of politics is in the balance and the end justifies the means.

Miss Jane Addams in her address on June 11th said: "Without the franchise woman is shut out of the game—the great game played the world over by statesmen who at this moment are attempting to translate social sympathy into political activity." What is a greater example of this condemnation or statement by Miss Addams than the present situation of the Suffragists and their attitude toward the convention? Politics,

biting politics, bitter strife, keen party feeling for the one and only thing paramount to all others in the Suffragist's mind; we scan the papers for the work done by the convention, the topics discussed and the resolutions suggested for civic betterment and community welfare, but we find headings such as these: "Club Women in Political Maze," "Suffragists May Quit Federation," "Suffragists Sure of Federation Vote," "Suffragists in the Lead," "The Announcement of Carrie Chapman Catt's Address on Suffrage" and "Jane Addams' Speech for Suffrage," etc., until one wonders whether it is a convention of political turmoil on votes for women or a convention of human effort and earnest desire to correct the existing social evils in our country.

Mrs. Pennybacker, the president, occupying a position which her intelligence, broad-mindedness, executive ability and sane leadership have accorded her, states emphatically that the federation is no place for a discussion of woman suffrage, and instead of abiding by her wisdom and foresight the Suffragists immediately planned to place an opposing candidate for presidency in the field, one favoring their policy, in order to gain their point. Is this recognizing the best man for the place and giving credit where it is due, or is it playing party politics, favoritism, patronage and partisanship of the smallest nature? The inconsistent working of the suffrage mind is so apparent that it is past the normal and reasonable in argument.

They clamor for an eight-hour law for women, heeding no such desire in regard for the men. They continually ask for particular and special legislation for women and accept all that man will give in this respect and then spurn and scoff at any idea that differentiates them as to physical endurance and mental strata. If votes for women was a consistent, reasonable and desirable effort it would not take the time or the means already employed to urge people in general to adopt it.

The whole privilege of voting stands upon the duties which it involves. It is a give and take, like everything else in the world. Compensation is the law which strikes the balance and maintains a true and necessary normality in all events. For the

privilege of citizenship certain duties are necessarily required. The whole governmental procedure of voting rests upon three specific duties, military service, *posse comitatus* service and jury service, all three of which the average woman is totally unfitted for. She cannot go to war and fight battles; therefore there is no reason why she should be permitted to vote for a declaration of war. She cannot help suppress a riot or arrest an outlaw, so why should she make a law under which men are required to undertake such dangerous service? It is true her health and strength may permit her to do jury service, but what man would be willing to send his mother, wife, sister or daughter upon a jury case and have her locked up with a number of strange men for hours, or perhaps over-night, discussing pro and con a case in which testimony might be of the most distasteful nature to a woman of refinement and feminine sensitiveness?

If a woman cannot perform these services, which are the fundamental prerogatives of natural citizenship, would it not be giving her rights superior to a man if she is permitted to make the laws under which men must perform these services while she is exempt from them? Is it reasonable or fair to place womanhood on trial before the government and sentence woman for life to a servitude which only a masculine nature can endure and which was intended only for man in its initial creation? There will always be women who will refuse to cast off their femininity. There will always be the domestic woman for which we are thankful. Women who go out into the tenements, the alleys, the hospitals, the asylums in their welfare work and who will return to their homes with a deeper incentive to preserve them from destruction and to cement their unity.

But will this be true of the political woman? No weary faces look to her for help and comfort, appealing to her sympathy and heart interests. She sees no neglected children crying for mother love and comfort. No bed of sickness made lighter by her presence and relief confronts her in the political arena. She only sees and hears the din of party conflict, the faces of party rivals strained and set with a rigid determination to win. The mocking glory of political fame and high office for which she has paid so dearly and which can only result after all in dead sea fruit to the womanly woman who for the time being has forgotten her primal endowment.

Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, in testifying before the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, said: "Colorado has perfected the science of corrupting men. Its judges, its Supreme Court judges, are owned like office boys; its lawyers, its busi-

ness men are all owned; they are, of course, fearless men, but they have paid a heavy sacrifice for fearlessness." What does this mean when women have had power to elect the right man for twenty-two years? The blindness of the Suffragist is past understanding.

With suffrage far from successful, as demonstrated in the suffrage States in the West, she still pushes on crying, "Votes for Women." With only 50 per cent. or less of the women voting in the States already enfranchised, she plunges on in hysterical abandon demanding political freedom. With wage-earning women, social workers, prominent men of high position in professional and private life absolutely opposed to it, she heeds them not, but with the keenest avidity pitchforks it into every assembly, every gathering, every public event or occasion, whether relevant or not.

It has taken on the nature of a mania and one does not dare to think what may happen if the time ever comes when she realizes there is a possibility of her not gaining her end. The militants of England have called down the condemnation of the entire world. Obsessed with one idea, they have developed into the "wild women," "the furies." This stage has been approached in a gradual way, and without doubt there was no such idea of violence when the movement first started.

The other day a woman approached a man in Fourteenth Street and deliberately tore an anti-suffrage insignia from the lapel of his coat. She was a woman with gray hair, well dressed and of the most dignified appearance. The woman was an absolute stranger to the man. Can this be anything but incipient militancy? The sign before the anti-suffrage headquarters has recently been torn and slashed with a knife. It has been reported to the police. Senators and Congressmen are being continually annoyed and harangued by Suffragists in their insistent and strenuous demands for recognition. The Democratic party has been warned and threatened by leading Suffragists because no favorable indorsement for their cause has been made by the administration. This cannot be without import, although it may appear trivial in its initial effort to get what they want.

Everything so far has been in the nature of a demand which carries with the significance of warfare and dissension. It is the duty of every man and woman to face this problem and to dispose of it, to study it and to place upon the record of their minds what will eventually redound to the beneficent good and lasting happiness of mankind.

FEMINIST FOR MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF CHILDREN

UNDER the heading "The Assault on Marriage" *The New Witness*, an English paper, prints the following letter to the editor:

"SIR: Surely the true moral of the existing tangle of our marriage laws is not far to seek. Those laws are based on the assumption that children belong to the parents. If a child belongs to anyone but itself it is surely to the community of which it forms a part. The cost of producing and rearing children should be borne by the State, which should also enjoy full control. Motherhood, if it is to be justly estimated, must be treated as a public service, and the supply of children be recognized by the State as at least as essential as the supply of water or electricity. With the mother adequately paid for the social function which she performs all practical difficulties relating to the control of children can be dismissed. Parents can make what arrangements they choose with perfect freedom and at no risk to the community.

"Yours faithfully,

"(MRS.) LUCILLE F. LIMMER.

"SIDCUP, KENT."

In the last lines of this letter is contained, frankly stated, the whole kernel of the feminist movement: "With the mother ade-

quately paid for the social function which she performs all practical difficulties relating to the control of children can be dismissed. Parents can make what arrangements they choose with perfect freedom and at no risk to the community."

This sounds very simple—indeed, it is almost too simple. Mrs. Limmer seems to forget that the "social function" which the woman performs and for which she is to be paid by the State will have to be performed to the State's satisfaction. Parents will not be able to "make what arrangements they choose with perfect freedom." On the contrary, they will have no freedom whatever, for the State certainly has the right to control all "public services" which it administers, and if motherhood is to be classed as part of the Civil Service it will inevitably have to submit to civil-service regulations. Thus when Mrs. Limmer says "The cost of producing and rearing children should be borne by the State" she is right to add, "which should also enjoy full control." But how she squares "full control" by the State with "perfect freedom" of the "individual" is a problem for the feminist mind to solve. Socialism does not mean "perfect freedom" and Mrs. Limmer's phrases contradict each other.

J. T. W.

COMPETITION WITH MEN NOT WOMAN'S VOCATION

(From New York Evening Sun)

THE note of sanity and conservatism which Mrs. Archibald Colquhoun, an English woman, sounds in her book on the "Vocation of Woman" will come as a surprise to most Americans who do not suspect the existence of such an element on the woman question in that country of noisy militants. Unlike most of the books written on feminism or suffrage, whether for or against, which deal mostly in theories, the writer of this volume adheres closely to the actual facts of life, and in making her aim a practical one adds many points of concrete value to the controversy.

Mrs. Colquhoun begins by attacking several recent writers who, in clamoring for rights—political or otherwise—hope to achieve "spiritual freedom." "The preoccupation of feminists with their personality is amazing," she declares.

Only the so-called educated class is dealt with, since it is the writer's belief that the present discontent of women is confined almost entirely to that class. In her opinion, we are now reaping the results of a generation of book learning, which did not take into account the realities of life women have to face. The trouble was caused originally by those who, about fifty years ago, evolved an educational scheme which aimed to make woman as much as possible like man. It is a system which has fostered restlessness rather than concentration, a mania for doing rather than being, a constant craving for new stimuli.

The perpetual comparison of the sexes, and the attempt to weigh them one against the other, physically and mentally, is a depressing phase of the present discussion, and futile at best, Mrs. Colquhoun upholds. In her subsequent analyses she emphasizes the fundamental differences of each, and brings out the fact that neither is superior, but each suited for different purposes. Competition with men will not raise a woman to a higher type of her sex nor make her the social equal of man.

Mrs. Colquhoun attacks valiantly those who would establish

the dual standard of morality. Monogamy is a safeguard to the wife and mother, and relaxation of the moral code toward woman marks a backward step in her evolution as a social factor. Everything which weakens the family tie is retrogressive. For the privilege of being a monogamous wife woman has made many sacrifices. Monogamy is not a man-made institution, but is due to the influence of women and the recognition by man of her rights and in the interests of legitimacy for the children.

Although much of the unhappiness in modern marriages is caused by too much leisure on the part of the wife, Mrs. Colquhoun does not believe in her open competition with man in all fields of labor. The French woman of the middle classes is well known for her business ability, but the writer connects this fact directly with the declining birth rate in France.

Regardless of her theoretical capacity for different kinds of employments outside the home, the married woman who wishes to be economically independent must consider several things besides the pleasure of earning money. It is a rare woman who can put the best of herself into two different kinds of life and work. The home and family consequently suffer first, as professional standards are definite and relentless. As for the trained specialist in the home, she will never furnish that personal touch supplied by the mother—this is one thing which money cannot buy. By going out of the home to seek work a woman invariably damages her own health and that of the race.

In summing up, Mrs. Colquhoun concludes that the running of a home should be considered as a craft, that its many duties need not be a bore if efficiently attended to, and that the preparation of food is not below the intelligence of the most intellectual woman. The great mistake in the present movement is that woman is striving for an egoism which will enable her to rival man.

HOW WOMAN SUFFRAGE WORKS IN AUSTRALASIA

THE following interview with William Crichton, an architect of Wellington, New Zealand, gives an interesting side-light on how Suffrage has worked out.

(From New York Times, April 19)

"Woman suffrage?" asked Mr. Crichton, when the subject was mentioned to him. "Nobody gives it a second thought. I have the greatest job to get my wife to go to the polls and exercise her right as a free citizen. Woman's suffrage works out like this in New Zealand: The average woman, owing to the environment and training of centuries, does not seem to grasp political questions at all. And mind you, I am not intending to reflect upon woman's intelligence. But on such questions as prohibition and having Bibles in the public schools, she can readily make up her mind one way or the other.

"But all the impression made by an earnest speaker who comes along and argues in her hearing for prohibition and having Bibles in the schools may be entirely effaced by the arguments advanced by the rival candidate, who, while condemning

prohibition and having Bibles in schools, has a better address, a more musical voice, a better tailor, or is more of an adept at flattering her sex. Convictions? They don't count with a woman in voting. In theory, universal suffrage is all right. In practice it does not work out. With us the man and the woman belonging to the criminal or the vicious class count at the polls just as highly as anybody else. The condition is that a person shall have reached the age of twenty-one years. I understand that this is true here with regard to male suffrage, and that, if you adopt woman's suffrage your law will be about like ours on that point.

"It may be interesting that our experience is that the women of education and refinement, the women who think, do not seem to want to vote. The average married woman will vote as she thinks her husband is going to cast his ballot. If the married women of the laboring classes don't want to vote, the chances are that their husbands will beat them. What determines the vote of the rest it is difficult to imagine. Sometimes the results of our

elections are enough to make the hair stand on end.

"A study of the working out of woman's suffrage in New Zealand might be pursued with considerable profit by those of your people who are insisting upon giving women the ballot."

(From Detroit Free Press, June 16)

"Suffrage in Australia has created an unbalanced state of affairs," said A. E. Rudder, of Sydney, guest Monday of the Board of Commerce.

"Advantage of the franchise was taken by the women of the laboring classes and not by the women of the upper classes," he continued. "In this way the Australian government has become a labor-controlled government. Coming into power as radicals, the laboring class politicians have been able to swing affairs greatly to their own advantage, while the upper classes have suffered as a result. One of the big efforts on election day is to get the better class of women to the polls to offset the labor vote."

"The Greatest Good to the Greatest Number"

"SOME more loose thinking" is the heading of an editorial in the Reno, Nev., *Gazette*, which reads:

The cornerstone of the governmental structure of this Republic is the will of the majority, sometimes called "Majority Rule." The object and aim of the Republic is the greatest good to the greatest number. That is what it was built for; that is why it is maintained; the greatest good to the greatest number, secured through the operation of such policies as the greatest number believe to be the most effective in achieving it. There is no right of, or pertaining to, citizenship that any man or woman may claim that is not subject to this test.

If a majority of the people, men and women, believe that the "greatest good to the greatest number" would accrue through extension of the franchise; if a majority of those who have it, and those who have it not but want it, and those who have it not and hope to continue their freedom from its responsibilities and the activities it involves—if a majority of these want it then they should have it. But no one can claim it as an inherent right.

* * *

We are not opposing the extension of the franchise, but simply asking that its claims be neither exaggerated nor ignored. If it means a greater good to the greater number and a majority of the people of both sexes believe so, it should be granted. But if only a minority believe it this minority has no right, legal, moral or political, that is worth the breath required to claim it. There are minority rights that majorities are morally bound to recognize, but this is not one of them.

We would not claim that conditions in Colorado and Wyoming are due to woman suffrage, but we may properly reflect that these States were the pioneers in the movement; that the women have been voting in Wyoming for thirty-five years, and in Colorado for twenty-one years. Probably not by reason of it, but in spite of it, they are regarded as two of the worst governed States in the Republic. There is no other State, unless we consider Utah and Idaho, where it could be claimed that time has afforded a test.

There are many women, mothers and wives, who would shield themselves and their daughters and their sisters from the responsibilities and the activities the franchise would involve. They believe its influence on the home and on woman herself is not good. They believe that the greatest good to the greatest number lies in another direction.

These women are at least entitled to be heard.

Civic Activities on the Wane in California

A LETTER from San Francisco, under date of June 7th, says:

Great, indeed, is the change in sentiment among all classes. The registration just closed for the August primaries shows the old-line Republicans far in the lead—in fact, they number almost as many as the Democrats and Progressives combined. Because there is over one hundred millions invested in the wine industry in California, and because prohibition is threatened at the coming gubernatorial election this fall, strenuous efforts have been made to induce women to register. Temporary booths were erected in the shopping districts, on the ferry-boats and in the public squares. We were importuned by letters, by printed slips on our groceries, by circulars and by public speakers and in our club meetings, but only 14,000 out of 100,000 registered in this city—and most of these, like myself, are opposed to woman suffrage.

There is no longer the close affiliation between the State Federation of Women's Clubs, and the National Educational Association branches, and the Collegiate Alumnae, as was formerly the case. Civic activities in all three organizations is on the wane. Vocational education, especially the household economics and domestic science, with dressmaking and millinery included, occupies the extra time of teachers in the public schools and colleges. The civic clubs, including the once-all-powerful California Club of this city, are dancing the tango and giving literary programs. By standing still, I now find myself a recognized leader in the back to the home movement—a silent but powerful tendency of the moment.

Insurgency and Progressivism have spent their force in California. The suffragists are very much afraid of the referendum. Curiously, Los Angeles and the whole of Southern California is strangely conservative. The new officers of the State Federation of Women's Clubs come from Southern California, the new president lives in San Diego. The attempt to re-district the State failed at the convention, but there is a growing sentiment for a division into Northern and Southern California.

Every Socialist a Suffragist

J. G. Phelps Stokes, Socialist, spoke at the Church of the Messiah in New York recently on labor as the force used by the wealthy man to support him in order to live. He said there were 30,000,000 Socialists in the world and that there would be twice that number when the time came for equal suffrage.

Feminism a Direct Result of Agnosticism

OWEN JOHNSON maintains that the unrest among women which we are witnessing at the present time, and to which the name of feminism is given, has been brought about through agnosticism. In other words, women have been losing their religion, as men have been losing theirs, and the result is what we see.

This explanation is at least ingenious, and there may be something in it. Indeed we suspect that there is. The great force that has kept mankind and womankind comparatively decent in the past is religion, for religion is a quest for perfection, a pursuit of the ideal, and when a man loses his religion, or a woman loses hers, such terms as "perfection" and "ideals" become meaningless to them. It is evident enough that perfection means nothing to the Suffragettes of England, that they have no ideals. Because the ballot is denied to them they stand ready to destroy all the hard-won fruits of civilization. One had always supposed that a great book or a great picture or a great cathedral meant as much to women as to men; that these things were for women to rejoice in as well as men. But the Suffragettes reveal by their actions that they care nothing for libraries, art galleries or architecture. They are more than agnostics; they are infidels, and infidels of the worst type known to humanity. In England they have recently come to be known as "twentieth century furies."

We sympathize with the desire of men and women of our century for self-realization and for self-enjoyment. We are glad that the old-time notions of asceticism and self-crucifixion have all but faded out of human minds. But we must not forget the truth that the Puritans possessed. The Puritans had looked upon things that are unlovely; that were unlovely then, and are unlovely now. And the wild, fanatical, crusading zeal that they manifested in old England and in New England alone was due to their repugnance for men and women who had come to believe that ideals and perfection were meaningless terms, even as men and women of our time believe that they are. We confess that we are fearful lest the excesses that have become common among men and women of to-day may provoke, in a time not far distant, a swing of the pendulum toward the fanatical puritanism of an elder day. That would be a horrible thing indeed. But when men and women refuse to take life seriously, when they adopt an agnostic attitude, and eschew ideals, fanaticism of some sort becomes the Nemesis that shall overtake them.

(From the Rochester Herald)

CAJOLERY AND COERCION IN "Purer" POLITICS

TO THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

In a well-known periodical published in New York and devoted largely to woman suffrage is an announcement of an "Important series of articles by Mrs. Mabel Potter Daggett, telling how a million women discovered the power which lies in organization." The first article is a long essay of about five thousand words, and is embellished with pictures of eight distinguished ladies, among them Mrs. P. V. Pennybacker, President General Federation of Women's Clubs of America; Grace Julian Clarke, Chairman National Press Committee; Mrs. J. C. Terrell, Campaign Manager, Texas, and others. Having met with the article and being naturally desirous of seeing what instruction was given to the million women referred to, the present writer reading it through was confronted with the following statements:

"Of course, it isn't always so that one woman single-handed can mold a legislature at her will. I know a very clever State chairman who, by the way, is herself a beautiful woman with waving hair and a wild-rose complexion, who gets good work by definitely assigning her cohorts. The woman, who is the wife of a bank president, is sent to talk to the senator from her home town, the woman in the smart gown to convince the elderly member whose eyes rested approvingly on her at the hearing yesterday, and the woman with a college degree to interest the young member who yearns to have his university learning appreciated. 'But, after all,' the chairman cautions as she sends each forth, 'watch a man alertly for the least indication that he doesn't like you. You may be too blonde or too brunette, too grave or too vivacious, too young or too old. If you are, you'll know it, and I'll send another woman in your place.'

"The point to understand is that the success of the measure depends on pleasing the man."

Thus we see that the mental and spiritual progress of woman wherever she has obtained the ballot, and her "chains and shackles" (to quote Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont) have fallen at her feet, has been simply phenomenal. Mark how she has mastered the difficult and complex procedure of obtaining votes from the tyrant man and "cajoling" him (if we may use Mrs. Daggett's word) into compliance with her wishes. How feeble seem the poor efforts of man in this regard compared with the brilliant tactics of the State chairman (a beautiful woman with waving hair and a wild-rose complexion), who sends out her "cohorts," first a blonde and then a brunette, till at length the enemy is subdued and taught to know his proper duty as a legislator.

Perhaps a part of the charm which attaches to this mode of action is due to the spirited and picturesque manner in which it is described. How plainly do we see the dignified banker's wife as she deals with the senator from her town; the woman with the college degree who is sent to "interest" the young man with the university training, and who is so dull that he cannot picture the elderly member, who somewhat wearied with the tedium of the hearing and unconscious of the sharp eyes which are taking his measure, allows his gaze to rest approvingly upon the woman in the smart dress. And with what skill and with what knowledge of the principles of strategy are the cohorts selected for their office, discriminated not only by the delicate shades of their complexions, but also by their gravity or vivacity, youth or maturity, the utmost care being taken to suit the taste of the particular members under treatment.

But why should I attempt to sing the praises of the million women who receive their teaching from this essay? For we have only to turn one leaf of the magazine in question and we find an article by Dr. Orison Swett Marden, an extract from which sets forth almost in a single word the wonderful advance which has been made by women in this respect as in all others:

"Wherever woman has gone in every walk in life she has improved the conditions, purified the atmosphere, elevated the morals."

Before closing this letter I would like to take from Mrs. Daggett's article the story of one of the most extraordinary women whom these stirring times have as yet produced:

"The woman who is the most successful member of the third house that I know has a way with her that makes the whole legislature feel full of chivalry and great nobility when it has given her a law she has asked for. I think they would even try very hard to give her the moon if she should ask it.

"Never, never stamp your foot at a legislature," she advises. "Just say very softly, 'Please, oh please, let me have this law.'

"She's small and sweet—that sort of a woman, you see," a senator told me. 'Oh, no,' he added, 'I'm sure she isn't a Suffragist.'

"Hush," she said when I repeated that remark to her, and a flash of humor lit her brown eyes. 'I never let them know.'

"Actually I believe not even her husband suspects. For she always rushes home from the State House, and when she's hurried into a long-sleeved gingham apron

and is stirring something vigorously in a yellow bowl, she looks too demure ever to have had long, long thoughts of the franchise. When you're using indirect influence, you can't have it too indirect."

Thus it appears that when this remarkable woman makes up her mind that a certain law must be passed she trips down to the State House some morning, and finds the legislature, senate and house ready and anxious to give it to her. And why? It is because she makes the whole legislature feel full of chivalry and great nobility when it has given her the law she has asked for. This being accomplished, she hurries home and so secretive is she and so demure does she appear when engaged in her household duties that no one, except possibly the legislature, but not even her husband, knows of the immense benefit she has rendered the public by thus superintending the law-making of the State. Even the grave senator, who fully appreciates her attraction, and who quite likely has just handed her a law does not know she is a Suffragette, so great is her capacity for reticence, though one might think that the flash of her brown eyes might sometimes betray her.

One more extract to show what men may expect if they attempt to be recalcitrant:

"Sometimes, however, these and all other arts fail. Then the law-making body that cannot be cajoled may perhaps be coerced."

Here it is that woman, provoked beyond endurance by the stupid obstinacy of man, falls into the mood terrible. My timid pen refuses further comment.

G.

Salem, Mass.

Prohibition Decried

Decrying the prohibition movement, but urging individual temperance, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, Oregon's "grand old woman," spoke for an hour and a half at a weekly luncheon of Portland, Ore., Progressives. She related in detail her life work in securing equal franchise for the women of Oregon and her experiences in the crusade against the so-called liquor traffic.

"When a man has smallpox we put him in the pesthouse," she said, "but we don't lock up the whole community. Just because one man is a drunkard there is no reason to penalize everybody. Prohibition will make for cheating, infidelity and deception. Liquor is not the cause of intemperance; rather it is the man himself. He doesn't have to use liquor."

WHAT WOULD WOMAN GAIN WITH THE VOTE?

THIS editorial in the Troy (N. Y.) *Times* of May 2d is pertinent to any State where the question of woman suffrage is being agitated.

ANSWERING A POLITE REQUEST

WOMEN'S POLITICAL UNION,
New York City.

April 28, 1914.

EDITOR TROY TIMES.

DEAR SIR: As May 2d has been adopted by the woman Suffragists of the country as National Suffrage Day, and as all over the United States there are to be celebrations in connection with the woman suffrage movement on Saturday, May 2d, may we not hope that in your paper will appear on that day an editorial on the question of woman suffrage?

Trusting that it will be possible for you to have such an article in your columns that day, believe me,

Very truly yours,

HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH.

The request of the well-known and talented President of the Women's Political Union is so politely proffered that it would be discourteous to refuse to comply. Therefore the *Troy Times* is moved to utter the following considerations:

As to national woman suffrage, that has already been killed in Congress. An attempt at resurrection is now being made, but it will be futile for the reason that the Southern States are opposed as a unit to Constitutional suffrage amendment because of the racial question involved. The South admits that its conscience has been so severely strained by the effective disregard of the Constitutional provision granting suffrage to negro men that it will not consent to double the strain by including negro women. And while the provision of the Constitution granting suffrage to the men of the negro race is a nullity for the major part of that element in the population, why should the Northern States consent to action which would render the solemn provisions of the Constitution equally nugatory for the female part of that element? So the very great unlikelihood that a national Constitutional amendment for woman suffrage would secure a sufficient number of States to be enacted into law makes it a matter for each State to decide for itself.

It might be remarked here that the conditions regarding legislation for the interests of men and women vary in different States. But as it is the conditions applicable to New York State and not to Colorado or California or Utah that are properly under consideration here it might be stated that before the men of this particular commonwealth pass a Constitutional amendment giving equal suffrage to the women the ad-

vocates of that amendment must prove that the conditions demand such action. That we believe has not been proved.

As to legal discrimination against women—whatever may be the conditions in Great Britain or any other State of the Union—it seems to be conceded on all sides that the legislation of New York State is at least as favorable to women and their personal and property rights as to men.

If it is claimed that industrial conditions would be improved if women should have the ballot, it may be answered that New York State has moved as rapidly in the improvement of such conditions as any State could be expected to do, and is far ahead in that respect of many other commonwealths. It is extremely doubtful that even with the great reconstruction in the social order involved in granting a full ballot to women the industrial conditions would be improved more rapidly than is now being done by the votes of men.

If it is held that possession by women of the ballot is essential to the holding of public office by that sex, it is enough to point to the number of official positions now occupied by women in this State to prove that the ballot is not a requisite. Moreover, those who favor woman suffrage distinctly disavow the ambition to use it as a means of entrance to public office.

If, however, it is alleged that while not desiring to become public-office holders women do desire the ballot as a means for the expression of individual opinion, it is in order to remember that the suffrage is not intended for the convenience or advantage of the individual but as a social agency, and the first consideration in granting this imputed and not native power is the advantage to society.

While it must be conceded, and the concession is made cheerfully and with much admiration, that the leading advocates of woman suffrage are not only sincere but are often characterized by most lofty ideals, it is unfortunate for their immediate success that not a few social and political organizations, whose influence is considered by many to be hostile to the best interests of the people, are outspoken advocates and earnest promoters of the extension of the privilege of suffrage.

While the question of a demand for any change in the present order is not necessarily decisive, still it may not be foreign to the subject to say that in this State at least the best obtainable information seems to show that the majority of women are indifferent to the proposed change, and that of those who are actively expressing their views it appears to be safe to say, in the absence of any referendum establishing the facts, that neither side can safely claim

preponderance, although the advantage of long-continued organization and agitation has been greatly on the side of the proponents of the enlargement of suffrage.

In view of the political conditions existing at present, it is perhaps unnecessary to go beyond the consideration of the facts pertaining exclusively to our own State of New York, or to take up the general question, which is so vehemently agitated pro and con, of the ultimate effect upon the family relation of a change in the public functions of men and women. But with the disturbing effects already violently in evidence of the rapid admission to the voting franchise of men of all conditions of intelligence and of purpose, it might be well, as a general consideration, to let the still turbid pool of manhood suffrage settle a bit and purify itself before doubling the problem by a large accession of what may be—and it would be ungallant to deny that it is—absolutely pure but it must be admitted is still largely inexpert.

"Very Excellent Intentions"

ROME, June 10—Considerable comment has been aroused in Italy by the fact that the Princess Giustiniani Bandini and other members of the Women's Catholic Union in Italy took no part in the Women's Congress in Rome. It now appears that the princess had consulted the Pope, who approved of her decision to take no part in the Congress.

On having the programme of the Congress explained to him the Pope said: "Very excellent intentions, good ideas animate these ladies. They are occupied on many important matters, such as the protection of infancy and maternity, the protection of minors, the war on the white slave traffic, so called. They maintain the rights of women in civic society, in political work, in fact, in all walks of life, except in its religious manifestations. But this abstention could not be acceptable to Catholic women, who should place their faith and religion as the first principles to lead them through their lives as women and mothers."

On being told that there was a woman priest at the Congress he remarked jokingly: "Also women priests! As you see, they don't know all the miseries and annoyances of our profession! Next they will try to take my job."

On the question of suffrage the Pope said: "Women are already the most influential voters. The good wife with a good influence has no necessity to ask for the vote; she has it already!"

Suffragist Logic

THE Suffragists think nothing is good unless women's votes have brought it about; yet how little we should have to depend on if we only relied on the measures in which women have had a direct share. If, for instance, the marriage laws had not been reformed because women had had no share in proceedings we should still be without the Married Woman's Act, which secures to married women the control of their own property. We should be also without the laws which give women the right to maintenance and dower. We might, indeed, always remain without these laws, as the Suffragists, who claim to represent women, are greatly in favor of establishing liens on the married woman's property and of abolishing maintenance and dower rights. By some strange logic peculiar to the suffrage mind, they conclude that a woman with children will be much freer if deprived of her property rights and made dependent on the whim of her husband or the uncertainties of employment (which are daily becoming more acute as more women enter the ranks of wage-earners). This theory being distinctly untenable soon leads the mind which clings to it into the safer harbor of Socialism, the State nursery and industrial slavery of all men and women. It abolishes the home and private property in an early stage. All consistent feminists must sooner or later arrive at this point.

That is why we assert that Socialism and feminism are part of the same scheme. That most of the women who profess feminism have not thought this out we are practically certain.

Morbid Excitement

One of the direct effects of militancy is to confirm many in the opinion long held and to bring many others over to the belief that the grant of votes to women would have disastrous effects on the sex at large, undermining its moral standards and producing an excitement destructive of happiness in each existing generation and tending to degeneracy in the next. This view may not be just, but it certainly gains definiteness from the demonstrated effect of the mere demand for votes on a considerable number of women. It must be remembered that not merely the active militants are affected, but also the very large body of sympathizers who, according to Home Secretary McKenna, exist in the British Islands. These share lamentably in the morbid excitement and moral deterioration of the arsonettes and hatcheteers.—*Exchange*.

"Votes for Children"

"VOTES for Children" is the new slogan of a Washington (D. C.) Suffragist. The picture is from a post-card circulated generally in England.



"Now! Where's my Vote?"

No doubt it is because children do not vote that the Los Angeles Times of May 3, 1914, could contain such a report as this:

"SAN FRANCISCO, May 2, 1914.—The City of San Francisco ranks at the bottom of the list of every comparative table of city expenditures for schools and has been woefully neglecting her schools, according to the California Branch of the Association of College Alumnae, which has just completed a survey of the local school system. A report of the Association charges San Francisco with enormous increases for other city departments, while holding the school expenditures static, with teaching children in herds of fifty, sixty and seventy, with maintaining disreputable shacks for school houses, with allowing baby classes to recite in cellars, with using scant and obsolete materials and remaining blind and indifferent to the many progressive features used in schools the nation over."

And women have voted in San Francisco for two years! Can it be possible that such a condition cannot be remedied by "dropping a piece of paper into a slot"? Or have Suffragists become involved in such mighty affairs that the mere education of such small things as children ceases to interest them?

"Be what nature intended you for and you will succeed; be anything else and you will be ten thousand times worse than nothing."—Sydney Smith.

Sartorial Morality

(FROM Daylight Sketches, by Agnes Edwards, Boston Herald, May 25, 1914.)

There has been a great deal of agitation lately about various forms of immorality which we are assured were never more rampant than today. We have been treated to novels and plays and moving pictures and lectures until we all ought to be quite enlightened, if not cheerful, in regard to the subject. Various commissions have carried on various investigations and have made public various conclusions, but the 126th general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States has just attacked the question from quite a different angle and from such a direct and simple one that those of us who have been reading diligently and listening conscientiously must pause to marvel at the dignified common sense. The assembly goes directly to the heart of the matter by calling upon the women of the Presbyterian Church to separate themselves definitely from every vulgar fashion in dress, in dancing and in reading which tends toward demoralization. This is an emphatic way of stating that one woman who absolutely refuses to dress immodestly, to patronize indecent plays and literature does more for the sweetening of the world than a hundred clubs studying and discussing and in the meanwhile continuing in all those small practises which contribute to the general lowering of moral tone. This is one of the most pertinent and sensible things that has been said on the subject.

Law vs. Mob Rule

Is there any wonder the people of England hesitate to confer the ballot on a class that would follow the leadership of Mrs. Pankhurst or to any class that would tolerate such leadership—much less exalt it? The dispatches to-day are more alarming, if possible, than those of yesterday. No wonder a majority of the women of America as well as of England refuse to countenance such acts or encourage such leadership.

If these women cannot see that they have made it impossible for the people of England to grant their demands, then they are not wise enough in statesmanship to be entrusted with the ballot. No government can surrender to any class while defying the law. No matter how righteous these demands may be, no government could grant them when presented in ways other than those countenanced by the law itself. That is, no government can do it and survive.

Pat's Feminist Wife

"Pat," said his wife,
Wid a look like a knife
From a pair of glitt'rin' eyes,
"Now mind me well,
For the word I tell
'Twill give ye a big surprise.

"Now understand,
Upon me hand
This ring I'll not be wearin'.
'Tis the visible link
In the chain ye think
Thot proves yer home I'm sharin'.

"And thin yer name,
'Tis a bloomin' shame
To expict me to dhrup me own.
Ye think 'tis an honor
To be 'Mrs. O'Connor'?
Well, d'ye hear, I'm *Miss Bridget Malone!*

"I'll spind yer pay,
And ye've naught ter say
Of a thing insoide thot door;
They're all o' them moine,
Be the sthars thot shoine,
An' the sthock outside, what's more!

"I'll earn me bread,
Now I've took me head,
But wan word ye'd best belave:
I'll sthill boss ye,
An' the childer, see?
Though not longer I'll be yer slave!"

Pat scratched his head,
An' he gently said:
"Ye've gone cracked, now phwat will
it be?
Fer the dacint soft
Thot's off in her loft
They'd niver let mix wid ye.

"Me name ye'll not bear?
Me ring ye'll not wear?
But me pay ye want sthill to control?
Ye'd 'Sthill boss me,
An' the childer, see'?
An' ye'd own all I hev, but me soul?

"Now don't ye fret,
For I'll lock ye yet
Outside, wid a good sthrong key.
Ye can take yer head,
But the path ye'll tread
Runs many a mile from me.

"I'm a dacint man,
So I niver can
Live wid any '*Miss Bridget Malone.*'
It may be no honor
To be an O'Connor,
Though 'tis a name ye were once proud
to own.

"An' when all's done and said,
In spite of yer head,
Yer 'Mrs. O'Connor' by law and by line.
So ye'd better behave
Or ye'll find I'm no slave,
An' the acres, an' the sthock, an' the
shanty is mine.

"So if 'tis no honor
To be 'Mrs. O'Connor',
At laste 'twont disgrace ye, forever an'
more.
So ye'd best be behavin'
Or ye'll find yersel' cravin'
What ye'll niver more see—the insoide of
me door."

Feminist Incubators

(Editorial from *Brooklyn Eagle*)

THE use of incubators for babies has been resorted to for the preservation of those who had slight chance of life under normal conditions and, so far as the public have known about them, these incubator babies have been exhibits in Coney Island shows.

But now comes a feminist "Alliance" of some kind or other, and prepares plans for a building in which babies from six months old up shall be relegated to a mechanical up-bringing so systematic and complete that it suggests nothing so much as dispensing with the services of the hen and raising chickens by a combination of incubator and brooder. The motive seems to be the same in both cases. The hen is made to sacrifice her maternal instincts in the interests of more eggs to sell, and the mothers to relinquish theirs in the interest of a larger earning capacity. The chief difference is that where the hen submits to the process under duress, human mothers are expected to flock to these proposed apartments, once their superior conveniences are pointed out to them. There is to be a milkroom with ice box and sterilizing apparatus, the children are to live in a kindergarten room with a pergola with sandpiles and swings, and, oh joy, there is to be one nurse to five babies! Just see the economy of that, now! Verily these feminists will yet answer to old conundrum, When an irresistible feminist force meets an immovable body, the immovable body will just skeddaddle for safety.

"Reform, like charity, must begin at home; once well at home, how it will radiate outwards, irrepressible, into all that we touch and handle, speak and work, kindling every new light by incalculable contagion; spreading in geometric ratio, far and wide; doing good only, wherever it spreads, and not evil."—Carlyle.

Cause and Effect

"PARASITE! Slave! Bondwoman!" These are the epithets commonly hurled by feminists at the women who have accepted that sphere of life to which it has pleased God to call them. The Suffragette felt herself ordained to point the way to freedom and a broader opportunity. How has she succeeded? Admitting for the sake of argument that woman's position is in all respects intolerable, in what practical concrete way are the feminists improving that position by their exaggerated demands and presumptuous assertions?

They demand equal pay in all professions where women work side by side with men—and the result of this in many cases is to close professions to women. They demand the abolition of maintenance and dower—and the result of this is to make married women with children dependent on the good will of their husbands (until such time as Socialism shall be universal).

They demand the right to representation—and the result of this is heavier taxes for women and fewer exemptions.

They demand equal guardianship of children—and the result of this is equal financial responsibility toward them.

They demand more professional opportunities—and the result of this is lowered wages and fewer matrimonial opportunities.

The Suffragists for all their materialism lack common sense and the actual truth of the matter is that if all the measures they advocate were to come to pass woman would indeed have reduced herself to a veritable bondwoman, having with a folly unparalleled in history signed away her own freedom and bent her neck to the yoke. She cannot sign away her woman nature or her sex disabilities, but she can make industrial slaves and dependent wives and deserted mothers. And this would not in any way be out of accord with the traditional tendency of woman. It is merely revived Suttie after all. This tendency to martyrdom has been the greatest obstacle in woman's progress. It is a form of hysteria and resists all remedies.

The only true freedom lies in accepting our limitations and working cheerfully inside them. Man's real superiority of strength lies in the fact that he has always done this. There is no bondage like illusion.

"The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all."—George Washington.

"Knowledge and Scope"

(From the London Times)

"A CONSIDERATION which is not sufficiently borne in mind in feminism—its vagueness and impracticability—is that there is not one woman's problem, but many women's problems. The educated and the uneducated woman—not to speak of the half-educated woman—the woman of the working classes and of the middle classes, the woman who is wholly self-supporting and she who is only partly so, the married and the unmarried woman, the woman with children and the woman without them—all these classes offer very varied problems, depending in each case on different factors; and each requires separate study. 'Knowledge and scope' are the watchwords of progressive women. But are we quite sure that women are really seeking knowledge in the right quarters or using the scope which they already possess? It is too generally assumed that the efforts of the 'pioneer women' of former generations have done all that there was to be done, and that women have nothing left to do but rest on their oars and float down an ever-widening river of progress. There is no greater delusion. Women have rushed into the labor market in a haphazard way, too often with no particular training and with no standard of efficiency; and, in an age when the root principles underlying women's education and women's work are still matters of lively controversy, those who will deserve best of their sex are those who will devote their time and money to further pioneer work, examining piecemeal the whole field of woman's efforts, collecting the data which are necessary before the problems connected with this work can be rationally dealt with, and discovering into what channels the energies of women can be most usefully led. There seems to be no reason why women should not take in hand many matters of great importance both to the community and to the individual, for which their particular gifts would seem to qualify them. Apart from local government, public health and the care of children, which already offer scope for women's work, a great deal is waiting to be done in the direction of improved education and vocational training for girls, and, merely to touch upon a vast subject, the application of scientific methods to the improvement of the home and of the production and distribution of food. Most important of all would seem to be the accumulation of trustworthy data as to the work and wages of women. There are bodies, such as the Women's Industrial Council and the Women's Economic and Industrial Union of Boston, Mass., which are employed in this indispensable work of

research and vocational training; and it is very much to be regretted that money and energy should be diverted from this important constructive work to barren controversy and petulant agitation, based on insufficient knowledge and having no clear aim in view. The future of the woman's movement lies entirely in the hands of women. It is surely quite out of date to maintain that women are not nowadays sufficiently emancipated to effect, by their own efforts, almost all that is required for the work of enlightening and raising their sex."

Shocking the Conventions

The Chicago *Tribune* each day reprints an editorial from a contemporary under the heading, "The Best Editorial of the Day." Its issue of May 14th contained the following:

"WOMEN AND THE GOLDEN RULE
(From the Indianapolis News.)

"Here is Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman urging upon women everywhere to attain increased courage in belligerency. 'Practice on your families,' she admonishes her sisters, 'by doing something you have refrained from doing because it would shock their conventions.' This advice, if followed, will make things somewhat difficult for the families, but it has been the observation of most of us, and our experience as well, that 'shocking the conventions' somehow has less effect on the conventions than it does on the shocker. It is far from our purpose to set up an opposing opinion to contradict Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, but we humbly suggest prudence in this business of 'shocking the conventions.' The conventions have often been shocked, but they persist, while of those who shocked them somewhat less is to be said. A little caution, therefore, can do no harm."

Preventive Education

"Let us make our education brave and preventive. Politics is an after-work, a poor patching. We are always a little late; the evil is done, the law is past, and we begin the up-hill agitation for the repeal of that of which we ought to have prevented the enacting. We shall one day learn to supersede politics by education. What we call our root-and-branch reforms of slavery, war, gambling and intemperance is only medicating the symptoms. We must begin higher up—namely, in education."—Emerson.

Repudiation of Duty

WHEN we hear feminists declaiming that they are only attacking the present conditions with a view to putting home and marriage and society in general on a higher, more ideal basis, let us not forget Bernard Shaw's warning. He says that "Woman has to repudiate duty altogether," including her duty to her husband, home and children. (Why not also her duty to the State? Being a Socialist, Mr. Shaw would not naturally wish to make that suggestion. She will not therefore become emancipated in that direction.) He continues: "She may indeed mask her iconoclasm by proving in rationalistic fashion, as man has often done for the sake of a quiet life, that all these discarded, idealist conceptions will be fortified instead of shattered by her emancipation. To a person with a turn for logic such proofs are as easy as playing the piano is to Paderewski. But it will not be true." And now when we hear these familiar arguments let us remember Mr. Shaw's impressive forecast and remind ourselves that whatever the feminists may say about fortifying the institutions of home and marriage, "it will not be true." Her object is their destruction, and behind her and supporting her is the Socialist (Mr. Shaw and others), who wishes to see them destroyed in order to make way for the Socialist State. The feminist is sometimes consciously working for Socialist ends, as in the cases of Jessie Ashley, Inez Milholland, Mrs. Pankhurst and others. More often, however, she is completely unaware of the ends she is furthering and is merely led away by appeals to her emotions, frequently made by other women. Since we have come so far a further knowledge is our only hope. There is nothing more opposed to the true woman's true interest than the destruction of marriage, home and property rights of women.

"Back to the Home"

(From Life.)

The school as a civic center having become overcrowded, it occurred to some bright mind to advocate the use of the home as a civic center.

"The home is vacant so large a part of the day that it would seem that the highest efficiency would put it to some use other than as a possible place to sleep in after midnight."

This was immediately done, and the home began to come back. Thereupon the leading sociological writer wrote an article in which he proved again to the satisfaction of all that everything has a use.

Antis Aid Salem Victims

THE Salem disaster which shocked the State and the country at large attracted many of the members of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association from their campaign work.

The Public Interests League of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. John Balch is President, at a meeting of the executive committee held last Friday morning, sent the following telegram to the Mayor of Salem: "The Public Interests League of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association offers sympathy in your great calamity. Please telegraph us if you can make use of our services."

For the time being, it must be admitted the propaganda of opposition was given over. The clubrooms at 685-687 Boylston Street were turned into a temporary relief station for the gathering of clothes and money for the sufferers, and the most eloquent talkers turned to, with needles, thread and buttons to repair clothing to be forwarded to the stricken city.

The literature tables were cleared of their documents, and while the red roses bloomed as ever, the new work went on. It was in appreciation of this fact that the *Boston Post*, in a very pretty little story of the activities, capped it with the headline, "The Red Rose an Emblem of Mercy."

But on the whole the Antis have no need to apologize for the fact that they departed from the voting firing line for the time-being. A mere man who strayed into the headquarters, and saw the women hard at work, not only laid down a contribution for the Salem fire sufferers, but agreed he was from then enlisted on the Anti side. "This is real work," he said, "and it makes me feel more interested than ever in what you Antis are trying to do."

The Public Interests League of the Anti Organization, under the leadership of Mrs. John Balch and Miss Evelyn Sears, was the directing body in the relief work, and volunteers in plenty were had for the asking from Arlington, Boston, Brookline, Canton, Cambridge, Chestnut Hill, Jamaica Plain, Medford and Milton.

Members of both the parent Anti Association, of the Public Interests and of the Wage Earners' League were, in fact, active in all lines of effort. Mrs. William Lowell Putnam of the Executive Board of the State Association was early on the ground in Salem, looking after the milk distribution, acting in this case as the representative of the Milk and Baby Hygiene Association, while Mrs. E. B. Cole, of Wenham, also of the Executive, and her daughter

were among the first to reach the scene of action and organized a committee with some sixty automobiles at their command, which were used in transporting the refugees. Mrs. Cole has also been on duty at the Armory.

Beverly, Danvers, Hamilton, Manchester, Peabody, Swampscott and Gloucester members are also on the spot and hard at work.

Twenty-five barrels of clothing, repaired and ready to wear, have been forwarded.

Troy Men's League

AS an incidental result of the registration week held by the Troy Auxiliary to the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, from April 22d to April 29th, the names of about one hundred men were secured for membership in the Men's Anti-Suffrage Association. The men thus registered met at the office of Dr. John M. Berry, May 28th, and effected a permanent organization by electing the following: President, Frederick F. Buell; Vice-President, E. L. Grimes; Treasurer, Harold K. Downing; Secretary, Dr. John M. Berry.

Executive Committee, John Knickerbocker, Edward L. Grimes, John S. Jones, James H. Potts, Fred F. Buell, Harold K. Downing and Dr. John M. Berry.

The Society is taking steps to enlarge further its membership and to circulate literature, and to co-operate with the Woman's Auxiliary.

A Discarded Slogan

We are pleased to note that the phrase "Suffrage is Coming" is less often heard of late. A new spirit of conscious endeavor is driving out the old passive fatalism and awaking women to a sense of responsibility. If suffrage (and feminism) comes it will be through neglected duty on woman's part. We are not at the mercy of any movement unless we let ourselves be. We are morally free and must think out our own problems for ourselves—not forgetting that our danger as women lies oftenest in blindly following the emotions. This is a time to use our heads, not our hearts. Our course cannot be decided by the simple advice which Circe gave the sailors: "Seek no guide; only raise the mast of thy ship and spread the white sails and sit in peace. So shall the north wind bear thee to the place on the ocean shore where are the groves of Persephone, tall poplars and willows."

We must not trust to any wind bearing us to the islands of the blessed unless we know the direction in which it is blowing and where it is likely to carry us.

Suffragists Hiss President

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PROTEST:

Are militant tactics to be used to express "the moral support" pledged to the suffrage movement by the Convention of the Federation of Woman's Clubs? The first fruits of that pledge appeared on Tuesday, June 30, when 700 or 500 Club women—it matters little which—were assembled in the East Room of the White House. Their spokesman, Rheta Childe Dorr, attempted to cross-question the President, who, quite properly, refused to allow that lady the joys of an impromptu debate with the Chief Executive. There should be no surprise at the incident.

The Congressional Union, that Suffrage body which boasts of its well-filled treasury, arranged this hearing of "representative club women from all parts of the country." The Congressional Union's heart and hinge is Alice Paul, American citizen, who wears the badge of honor conferred on English militants who suffer—or enjoy imprisonment. During Inauguration week in 1913, Mrs. Pankhurst's colors floated over the headquarters of the Congressional Union in Washington, a hint, or perhaps a defiance to authority, that at least a wing of the suffrage party stood for direct action.

As the Congressional Union arranged the White House audience, so the friend and ally of Mrs. Pankhurst, her companion during her detention at Ellis Island, Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, spoke for the assembled women. At the termination of the meeting in the East Room, so the *New York Times* reports, "a single hiss rang out." Nor should this surprise any one who recalls the hissing of President Taft by members of the National Woman's Suffrage Association when as their guest he addressed their meeting in Washington in April, 1910.

Last May the Club women of California, after a scant three years' experience of voting, spread this resolution on the books of their Federation: "Resolved, That we protest against using the influence and agencies of State and District Federations to further partisan and political interests, and that we work for the moral and educational movements on which women stand practically united."

Surely it is reasonable and timely to ask if her freedom from political entanglements does not constitute woman's distinctive power in furthering the moral and educational movements which are her most intimate concern. Meantime the club women of the country may well ask if the disciples of English militants are to be their interpreters at the White House.

(Signed) MRS. A. J. GEORGE

Wellesley, Mass., July 1, 1914.

REPORTS FROM STATE ASSOCIATIONS

GEORGIA

AT a meeting in Macon, Ga., at which an organization opposed to woman suffrage was formed, the women present were urged to use their influence to defeat the resolution before Congress to confer the ballot on all women regardless of color.

The secretary read a telegram from Senator Hoke Smith, saying:

"If the bill on the calendar should pass it would be impossible to eliminate the negro vote."

Miss Caroline Patterson in her brief remarks showed that should this bill pass and confer the ballot on the 2,000,000 negro women the result of the movement would be the enforcement also of the Fifteenth Amendment, putting upon the South the entire negro vote, male and female. And to prevent such a consummation was the motive which brought together this splendid assemblage of thinking women. The foundation for the enforcement of these suffrage measures was laid in the Bristow amendment to the Sutherland bill, enlarging the powers of Congress. Recent speeches of leading Suffragists of the National Association and the mottos on their parade floats have disclosed the purposes of those behind the bill before Congress, making it manifest that they have no thought of votes for white women only. This purpose was also revealed when the proposition of Senator Borah, Republican, of Idaho, to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment and extend the ballot to white women only, was given no consideration whatsoever by the National Association. They would entertain no such offer. Hence the imperative necessity for white women who are not in accord with the aforesaid purposes to take steps to protect Southern civilization from the threatened degradation. It is no longer a question of preventing negro women from voting as was done with negro men, but the question now is, under new conditions, how to protect the Southern ballot from both.

Miss Patterson brought out other thoughts, especially the ominous threats that crept out in the suffrage debate in Congress—in future to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment and put into execution the political advantages which accrued to them under the Bristow amendment—the passage of which is the initial step, it seems, to other assaults upon the Constitution, passing as "reforms."

That Miss Patterson was correct in her view of the situation was the conclusion of

the Macon *Telegraph*, which said: "And she might have added that those who are sent South under salary to get recruits, allay apprehensions by saying the men can dispose of the negro women voters in the same manner as they did the negro men, knowing when they say it that it cannot now be done, knowing also conditions have changed, knowing we may be the victims of the exigencies of politics, and knowing also that the National Association, having every opportunity to declare itself for votes for white women only, have not done so, but by speeches and parade-mottos and other limelight devices have arranged themselves on the negro side of the fence, just as Jane Addams did in the Bull Moose convention at Chicago."

NEBRASKA

An enthusiastic meeting of Anti-Suffragists was held May 1 at the residence of Mrs. John C. Cowin in Omaha, Nebr., at which Mrs. Edwards Porter Peck presided.

The secretary of the association, Mrs. William Archibald Smith, read a paper on Nebraska child labor laws and those relating to women wage earners and showed them to be better than those in any of the suffrage States.

Mrs. Henry W. Yates made a spirited talk in which she said that women in the home wielded the greatest influence for good and deprecated woman suffrage.

Mrs. Helen Arion Lewis, who has lived in a suffrage State, thought the reforms for which the Suffragists contend might better be brought about by the women through influence upon the men voters.

Mrs. L. F. Crofoot made a hit when she said the stock argument of the Suffragists was the bald assertion that equal suffrage was bound to come, and we might just as well get in line. She characterized the claim as preposterous in view of the fact that of the 46,000,000 women in the United States, the Suffragists themselves claim but 3,000,000.

Dr. Mackay made an effective address in which he advised the ladies to take positive grounds and to go into all the cities of the State with arguments in defense of the home. He pleaded for a more aggressive attitude on the part of the women who opposed suffrage.

A vote of thanks was extended to the cartoonist of the *World-Herald* for his cartoon in the Friday issue, commented upon in the June issue of the *PROTEST*.

NEW JERSEY

Branches of the New Jersey State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage have been organized in Summit, Frenchtown and Fanwood since the last report appeared in the *PROTEST*.

Large meetings have been held in Bound Brook and Bordentown, at which Mrs. O. D. Oliphant spoke.

In Jobstown Mrs. I. H. Hutchinson gave a lawn party, where Mrs. Oliphant and Mrs. Feickert debated. Many women joined the Association on this occasion.

In Trenton a large card party was held at the Contemporary Club.

Two very successful card parties have been held in Plainfield, and at Spring Lake on June 20th there were twenty tables for the card party, and meeting, at which Mrs. Karl Roebing spoke.

Supplements to local papers were arranged by the various branches and appeared simultaneously on May 23d.

The regular monthly board meeting was held on June 7th.

MASSACHUSETTS

Since May 1st the Association has added 1,650 new members to its lists. Since June 1st sixteen meetings have been held and a new branch committee has been formed at North Easton. On June 13th new headquarters were opened on the ground floor of the Kensington Building in Boylston Street. The office on an upper floor of the same building will still be kept open and the new room used for the new Public Interest Club, the Working Girls' League and as a rest room. It is open all the time and is in charge of a paid worker with many volunteers to help her.

The shop in Milk Street will be continued during the summer at least.

Arrangements have been made for a booth at the Food Fair to be held in Boston in October. The press work is increasing and articles are appearing in papers throughout the entire State.

WASHINGTON (D. C.)

The office of the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at 1402 H Street, Washington, D. C., will remain open all summer. Constant requests for literature and the active interest of visitors to the National Capitol make this necessary.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage organized less than six weeks ago has two thousand enrolled members and is constantly adding to its members. Increasing enthusiasm is evident at every meeting.

Miss Lucy J. Price, of Cleveland, Ohio, has been engaged for debates covering 61 consecutive days, on the Chautauqua Circuit of Western Pennsylvania and Eastern Ohio. Mrs. Robert La Follette will be Miss Price's opponent in these debates.

When Miss Price was speaking in New York early in May she sent a challenge to Miss Helen Todd to debate at any time and place selected by and agreeable to Miss Todd. At the time this number of THE PROTEST goes to press Miss Price has received no answer to her challenge.

A well-known professor and essayist of New York received a post card from the Suffragette Party which he was to fill out and return. On one line of the card was printed, "Do you believe in votes for women?" on the other line, "What are your reasons?" To the first inquiry he wrote, "No," in big letters; to the second, "Reasons too humorous to mention."

Miss Marjorie Dorman writes from Montana: "I regret that the Montana Association requested me to call off my debate with Jeanette Rankin in Butte, on account of the trouble in the Miners' Union. Miss Rankin has circulated it far and near that I am a bluffer and ran away from her. I have sent her a challenge from here (Chinook), and the debate may yet come off. All the local suffragists have refused to meet me."

A meeting was held in Wilmington, Del., last month for the purpose of organizing an Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in that State. Mrs. O. D. Oliphant, of Trenton, N. J., spoke to a large gathering of interested and enthusiastic women. Following her talk an organization was formed with Mrs. Henry B. Thompson as Chairman and the following officers: Mrs. David S. Reinhardt, Recording Secretary; Miss Emily P. Bissell, Corresponding Secretary; Mrs. Eugene DuPont, Jr., Treasurer.

Universal suffrage by women may in time introduce new temperamental elements into our public affairs, but even in this respect the use of the ballot will not be con-

clusive. Without votes women have accomplished as much in matters of interest to them in many States as with votes they have gained in others. Woman suffrage may double the registration lists; it cannot materially change a public opinion, already largely guided by women, which find expression through men at the polls.—*New York World*.

AN UNFAIR ADVANTAGE

(From Editorial, *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 19, 1914)

Man has still his chivalry restraining him, both in speech and action, despite the fact that in speech and action some women are saying and doing those things which puts his gallantry at an unfair advantage.

For example, the militant Suffragettes of England are availing themselves of the power to use weapons which, if used upon them by men in authority, would cause an outburst of absolutely inconsistent indignation. There is no right which does not carry with it a corresponding duty and responsibility. The right, if it be a right, to use force in overturning a masculine government should carry with it the penalty of force used in restraint and regardless of sex. The right to argue against "masculine civilization" carries with it at least the liability to as much criticism as has been exercised in these comments.

This discussion between the Suffragist and the Anti-Suffragist deals with a nice point of honor. Shall women attempt to secure all the honors and emoluments of office; shall they enact laws and at the same time let men, as of old, carry all the burdens and responsibilities of government? For the constabulary and the militia enforce the law and they are composed of men. While exceptional women may occasionally unsex themselves and attempt the Amazonian rôle, the constabulary and the militia must always be recruited from the male sex.

No woman Suffragist wants equality. She is a burglar who is seeking to break into politics and secure "something for nothing." She thinks she can obtain the ballot without any cost to herself. We Antis realize that nothing may be obtained without a price, and we do not intend to pay the heavy price which the ballot would cost woman, the State and the race.

Caroline Ticknor, in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, date of May 25, enlightens Mr. Mellen in regard to his statement that "Boston is the home of the Antis." She recalls to Mr. Mellen that the first news-

paper in America was founded in Boston, the first public school, the first bank, the first insurance company, the first paper mill, the first loom power, the first demonstration of the discovery of the anæsthetic properties of ether, and ten other "firsts" originated in Boston; and she closes this summary of achievement with these words: "If Boston heads the anti-suffrage movement today, as she did the anti-slavery movement many years ago, it is not the first time that she has stood guard over the welfare of her citizens."

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New Jersey.....	24
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North Dakota.....	20
Ohio	65
Pennsylvania	27
Rhode Island.....	3
Washington, D. C.....	10
Nevada	105
	408
May Subscriptions.....	318
	726

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Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 9th day of April, 1914.

F. JOHNSON,

Notary Public No. 1839,

New York County.

[SEAL.] (My commission expires March 30, 1916.)

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Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*
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Everett P. Wheeler
Questionnaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*
Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound
Prof. William I. Sedgwick

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